Fellowship

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Reaffirmation

I will refuse to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations; I will work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races, and classes;

I will strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure us all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;

I will advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment;

I will endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children, in association with those of other classes, nationalities, and races;

I will seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes.

—From the FOR Statement of Purpose

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OF RELIGION

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1950-51

KERMIT EBY, author of "The Alternative Revolution," is now Professor of Social Science at the University of Chicago. He was a Brethren minister who went into the labor movement, and became Director of Education and Research of the National C.I.O. During his incumbency the excellent pamphlets, educational materials and publicity put out by the C.I.O. were considered to be some of the best of their kind. . . . A. J. Muste, before leaving for the World Pacifist Meeting in India, wrote his article on "Pacifism and the Problem of Power," which appears in this issue. He deals with the question of police power vs. military power, of the military in relation to domestic discontent, of the military and the protection of the country. . . . Milton Mayer gives us a Mayer's eye view of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's recent tour of the U.S., which wound up in a blaze of glory at just about the time, incidentally, that Gandhi's assassins were executed in India . . . and to Muriel Lester, Travelling IFOR Secretary, we bid farewell after her six months' tour here. . . .

FELLOWSHIP

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Subheads

Entr'acte

Now that we look back on it, 1949 was a peculiarly characterless year that completely belied the prophets who insisted at its start that it would be the "year of decision." Most things seem to be just about where they were twelve months ago, with a few changes in degree but none in kind.

Russia has the atom bomb, but it's not clear whether that actually happened in 1949 or a couple of years before, and most people had discounted that news anyway. Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers still are telling their conflicting stories of unreal happenings in the unreal years between the war, and their voices are bored and no one but they can know what is the truth, which is just as it was a year ago. The Communists have China and the Democrats have Congress, but neither fact seems to have made much difference so far, and the biggest news stories of the year were about Rita Hayworth and Ingrid Bergman and the World Series baseball games.

We think maybe the whole thing was a sort of interim year: everybody tired and sleepy: liberals and conservatives, pacifists and non-pacifists and militarists, all dozing out the end of the first half of the Twentieth Century, gathering strength for the tough times that lie ahead. Happy New Year! And wake up, quick!

Missed Chance

We have an idea that the saddest event of the year, and perhaps the most significant for humanity generally, was the chance the Government of India missed when it executed the assassins of Mahatma Gandhi. An act of forgiveness there, following the lead given by Gandhi himself as he fell, would have sounded a new note throughout the world: the same new note that was stifled by the small men who wreaked their vengeance on the South when Lincoln fell.

Radicals

An esteemed contemporary of ours, a periodical for the "really radical" pacifist, publishes in a recent issue a definitive statement of what the real radical is and how he may be identified. Briefly, the real radical does not stop with conscientious objection, nonregistration, or tax-refusal, any or all of which may for a given individual invoke no more than lip-service to an ideal. The real radical, recognizing the essential rottenness of all conventions and customs, tosses his defiance in the teeth of society by (1) wearing shorts to business in the summertime, (2) practicing nudism whenever possible, (3) breaking down a puritanical adherence to monogamy, (4) leaving the bathroom door open when he's in it, and (5) not washing his hands after using the bathroom.

We feel that this has been a valuable contribution to pacifist thought, and are ashamed that this department is not sufficiently advanced to have thought of it first. As one city boy to another, however, we have a word of caution about that business of wearing shorts to work.

Such an arrangement may be fine for the radical farmer, who has to worry only about such things as ticks, chiggers, snakes, briars and sunburn, but for the city dweller life in shorts is apt to be more rugged.

The City Radical must consider, for instance, the rude girls who stand on corners and who will whistle at him if he has well-turned legs, or gams, and make a ruder sound if his limbs are excessively bowed, stringy, hirsute, or otherwise lacking in esthetic appeal.

Then there is the Subway Seat, which scratches; the City Dog, which, at best, sniffs; the Traffic Cop, who is apt to yodel; and the City Grime, which coats unevenly and leaves neat rings just above the ankles. These things may seem like a small price to pay for the Better World, but the Real Radical should be prepared for them.

Aesthete

We have a very tolerant outlook on nudism, having discovered that most nudists apparently are earnest idealists, and almost excessively moral. For public consumption, however, and on purely esthetic grounds, we feel that nudism should be strictly confined to persons under thirty years of age and within certain specified limits of weight in relation to height. We still remember, in certain of our less pleasant nightmares, the vision of a Philadelphia armory where we accompanied some 1,200 other men through a pre-draft physical examination a few years ago. General Hershey's merry men were dredging the bottom of the barrel then, and the armory was filled with a great collection of protruding abdomens, skinny legs, and various other unsavory anatomical details never meant to be displayed to the general public. If it is conservative to wish to preserve our fellow men from such a disillusioning experience, then with Patrick Henry we say make the most of it!

Monogamist

One of our other compatriots remarks that, judging from the Kinsey Report, the real radical these days is the monogamist.

Pacifists expect their young men to be revolutionaries in wartime, without training them in time of peace for

The Alternative Revolution

By KERMIT EBY

Throughout the world the masses—workers and peasants—are demanding an increasing voice in the political and economic decisions that affect their destiny. The propertied middle class as we know it in America and Europe, and the feudal landlords as we have read about them in Asia, no longer are the sole arbiters of political and economic decisions. In the new political equilibrium the workers and the peasants inevitably will be the most powerful.

This is revolution, and it has been accelerated by two world wars and the economic disequilibrium stimulated by an impending third. In 1917 the world experienced the Russian revolution and temporary Communist upheavals in Hungary and other European states; in 1945 it saw the British Labor Party come into power, with a consequent change in the economy of Britain, which in many ways is more radically socialist than the present Russian system.

Here in America, the one economic fact that transcends all others is the impact of defense expenditures on the nation's economy. We are as definitely tied to a war economy as were prewar Germany and Japan. And every one of us—worker, farmer or professor—is accepting the benefits in wages, profits and salaries that accrue from this kind of situation. All we need to bring into being a completely regimented totalitarian economy in America is World War III!

The world revolution we are living through is taking several forms. Russia has a "dictatorship of the proletariat"; Britain, the Labor Party and socialism; America the evolving welfare state. What the ultimate form of China's revolution will be, it is too soon to project.

Moreover, the revolution is really several revolutions: as for example the technological revolution emanating from America and the Communist revolution from Moscow, each as materialistic as the other, and both committed to a drive to encompass the world. There is no assurance that our lifetimes or our children's will see the resolution of these power struggles; there are no islands we can escape to, no way short of suicide that can keep us from playing a positive or negative role in world events.

In a sense, as I tried to say in "Grandfather's Red Beard" to my Brethren friends, our Brethren forefathers lived in a similar age. Germany, in their time as in ours, was devastated by recurring wars.

Reacting to war's destruction, our Brethren ancestors resolved to have no part of the war system. Caught in the totalitarian provisions of the Treaty of Westphalia, they rejected force in religion; moved by the tragedies of poverty and oppression, they sought a golden mean between the extremes of poverty and wealth. For their creed they adopted the New Testament; for their testimony they determined on a way of life. Brethrenism, if I understand it at all, was to be all-encompassing, and those who embraced it were not to live compartmentalized lives. Religion must be all-inclusive, or it would not be religion.

Today we are tempted more and more to relegate religion to a formal, Sunday morning worship service, and the more soothing the service, the better. In some places the Brethren outformalize the Episcopalians, and we peripheral Brethren have no difficulty finding a church home wherever we hang our church hats. We are no longer unique, and it is this disappearing sense of uniqueness and calling that alarms me.

Several weeks ago our daughter joined the Methodist Church as an associate member. About all she had to do was shake the minister's hand. Now I have no objections if my daughter shakes a Methodist hand, but I would be a lot happier if the commitment were more vigorous, the renunciations more firm. The same day some hundred others came into the same church. I am convinced that their reasons were about as simple as our daughter's, and their lives as unchanged.

Perhaps we Protestants have come to the place in history where we should boast a little less about our numbers, a little more about our martyrs. The Brethren profess to be a peace—pacifist—church, yet fewer than ten percent of the Brethren boys answered to the pacifist position in the last war. Whom are we kidding? And why were there so few?

I have an answer that satisfies me. We asked these youth to take in wartime one of the most extreme revolutionary positions, to challenge the major values of wartime society, without ever having trained them in any way to challenge the same society in peacetime! The pacifist testimony, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation as that of the Brethren, must challenge not only the society that fights war but the one that produces it as well!

Must Challenge Evil

But such a challenge comes only from conviction and dedication. We cannot challenge war and the acquisitive society, and at the same time accept their benefits incidentally. Reconciliation and exploitation are not compatible. And what is true for the Fellowship of Reconciliation is true for Protestantism generally. Protestantism is dying and does not know it. Instead of challenging the evils of our day —discrimination, insecurity and war—it has become the high priest of middle-class virtues. Its god is a suburban god. The seeds of its destruction lie in secularism, not radicalism.

We Americans are in the grip of fear. We kneel beside our beds, not to pray but to look for Communists. We are terrified that someone will steal the atom and use it against us, but like the Germans and others before us, we are incapable of asking God's forgiveness for the use to which we put

it in the first place. Instead we think hopefully that if we could only liquidate every last American Communist and defeat Russia, our fears would pass, forgetting that the means to such an end would only increase the chaos on which revolution breeds.

So in much of America the problem has become simple. The myth of supermen and submen is recreated. All Russian babies are born little Marxists, with the hammer and sickle in their hands. (And to be frank, the Communists are no better. In *their* minds, all American babies are born figuring compound interest!)

Happily, the problem does not look like that to all of us. We do have CARE, CROP, Church World Service, and the Brethren "Heifers for Europe." And through our heifers we made a profound discovery, that needs to be shouted from the housetops: babies are born babies, and milk knows no politics. For all too often we forget, in the days of Iron Curtains and of Silken ones, that "perfect love casts out fear." We risk war because we are afraid to risk peace.

Our heifers also led us to the discovery that in some parts of the world there are no barns for cows, no hay to feed them, no agriculture to sustain them. And these facts, once discovered, forced us to help build barns and grow hay and conserve agricultural lands, and our ministry grows because it ministers to all of life.

But this is a truth easy to reject. Discovering that religion has no meaning unless it permeates the whole of life, we shrink from our own discovery. After all, we are so few, perhaps we should strengthen the home base. Church buildings and salaries are already inadequate—now is no time to offend the vested interests. Reasoning thus, we become frustrated busybodies without a mission. Perhaps we need church houses, but I doubt it, for if I remember my history the Methodists did a better job of challenging the devil from chapel and horseback than they ever have since. Certainly the CIO was greater in spirit and vigor when we met in empty lots and backyards and abandoned schools than it is today when it apes the salaries and accommodations of the very capitalism it challenges.

Prophetic Fellowship

What I am trying to say then is that the Fellowship of Reconciliation must become increasingly prophetic; it must challenge head-on the social sins of our day beside which the personal ones pale into significance. And the spirit of the Fellowship of Reconciliation must permeate the church, and the church the market-place.

This prophetic message of the Fellowship is inherent in its name. How often I have thrilled to the response of a hungry world to the message of reconciliation! Here is a really radical concept, one that in its full implications challenges the Marxist by offering everything the Marxist offers while yet refusing to use men as means to ends.

In our Reconciliation-Christian concept there are neither capitalists nor Communists, but only men created in the image of God. In it we are never owners of property, but only its stewards. We believe in a brotherhood with all things in common. Ours is the primitive communism which the Marxists have perverted for their own use. But again we must not become self-righteous, for at present their

heresy is more challenging than our indifferent faith.

The Fellowship is radically all-inclusive. It is impossible for a person to affirm its faith while tolerating a segregated church in a segregated community. He cannot but refuse to sign restrictive covenants, and he never meets in conference in a city or hotel which denies his colored brethren equal accommodations. Certainly he draws no color line in union or hiring hall. Fellowship of Reconciliation members understand that our racial policy is the greatest hindrance to democracy among the colored races of the world.

Fellowship members, as Christians, understand that God reached the apex of his creativity in work: He created heaven and earth and called it good. They understand that man approaches divinity when he also works creatively, and that there is no greater demoralizing force in the world today than the recurring fear of unemployment. Believing this, they lend every aid to social efforts to eliminate the scourge of joblessness.

But here we must recall that only war and its aftermath absorbed our unemployed. Reconciliationists face, therefore, one of the greatest moral issues of our day: "War, the producer of profits and jobs." Facing this issue they must find an alternative to war as the absorber of our surpluses; they must determine to build houses and parks, schools and playground, with the same religious emphasis as in our Brethren work camps.

Having evolved such a concept of all-emcompassing Christianity, they will understand how challenging and how revolutionary it is, and be prepared to be called radical or Communist, as their forefathers once were called names and hounded from their homes.

During the last several years it has been my good fortune to see something of America and of the world, and to experience the challenge of the Communist revolution. The Communist has brought his religion into his politics and into his economics. That is why he lives and dies for his belief. We reconciliationists must do no less: we must bring our religion into *our* politics and *our* economics. There is no other way. Men are so constructed that their beliefs determine their actions. If we do not act it is because we do not know what we believe.

And the Lord God whispered and said to me,
"These things shall be, these things shall be,
Nor help shall come from the scarlet skies
Till the people rise.
Till the people rise, my arm is weak;
I cannot speak till the people speak.
When men are dumb, my voice is dumb—
I cannot come till my people come . . .
. . . So God is mute and Heaven is still
While the nations kill."

—ANGELA MORGAN

Milton Mayer writes —

Nehru Goes West

THE PLACE WAS JAMMED with people who had coats and morals of mink. There hadn't been anything like it since the visit of the Prince of Wales. Even the general admission tickets—there were special tickets besides, and, on top of that, special reserved tickets—had been gone for weeks. The limousines rolled up, and the fat cats rolled out. The commonalty stood on the sidewalk, blinking in the glare of the sparklers on the ladies' necks, ears, arms, fingers, and shoe-buckles. Opening night at the old Met was never like this.

Nehru was making another triumphant speech on his triumphant tour of America.

Ten years ago he wouldn't have got into the country. Algernon, over at the British Embassy, would have called Alger, over at the State Department, and there wouldn't have been a visa. And if Nehru had said he would come anyway, Mountbatten, over in Delhi, would have called Montgomery, over in Calcutta, to find out whether the black devil was in jail or out, and if he were out, he'd be in.

And supposing he'd got here anyway. He'd have hopped a Greyhound bus and sat on the back seat. At the bus depot the delegation of three black Indians would be waiting for him, and they'd take the street car to the wrong side of town for a curry in the one-room apartment of a fourth Indian, with a fifth Indian, and maybe a sixth, completing the mass meeting.

Things had happened, in ten years, big things, and bigger things were in store. Twelve million niggers were still niggers, but four hundred million niggers were something else again.

So Nehru got the purple rug, and the people who would have been waiting for him at the bus depot ten years ago didn't get near him. There were assistants, secretaries, attachés, plain-clothes dicks, and cops with cannons to fend off the filthy who believed in what he symbolized—a new way to make a new world.

He must have been hep, but as far as I know he didn't show it, not once. There were anecdotes—a sidelong glance at the pickets in front of City Hall as he crossed the line to enter; a slap on the back for a copper; a visit to a neighborhood grocery. But the Prince of Wales was good for all those anecdotes, too. Every truly great man on tour displays his bucolic simplicity, while the cameras grind away.

Our government got what it wanted out of him, and so did the people with coats and morals of mink. At least they think they did. He said he wouldn't take sides, but he said it so tentatively, and so contiguously to his statement of India's needs for heavy machinery, that the smart ones whispered, "We can buy in. He can't make a go of it otherwise. The neutrality guff is eyewash for home consumption."

But in his Chicago speech—sponsored, incidentally, by the Association of Commerce—he let fly at the disappearance of individual liberty in Soviet Russia, and the house came down. He hurried, then—he was speaking extemporaneously—to add that there were great social liberties, too, for which the individual had to surrender some of his individual liberty. The Association sat on its hands at that point, but, as one of the members said afterward, "At least he didn't come out for the New Deal."

All told, it was, as the newspapers said, a triumphant tour. But for whom?

India needs machinery, above all, hydro-electric power plants and tool-making equipment. The disciple and heir of Gandhi, who didn't think much of machinery, made the point again and again. India needs machinery. And the only people you can get machinery from are the people who have it, and the three Indians at the bus depot are not the people who have it.

A neutralized India, an India, that is "saved" from communism, will be better than nothing in the forthcoming fight for the championship of the world. Both the needs and the attitudes of the Nehru government seem to promise a neutralized India. A fighting India, fighting, that is, for Capitalism, will be better still. And Nehru didn't say that it won't be.

The politician, he kept saying, is not a free man. The politician has got to compromise, he said. But, he added, he must not compromise on basic principles. The basic principle of the India which Nehru inherited was nonviolence. And in every address he made, he said, "Of course, we must resist aggression." He never said, "We must resist nonviolently," and every time he said "resist aggression," the crowd roared. We Westerners know what "resist" means, and we Americans know who the "aggressor" is. We don't have to be told, and Nehru was courteous enough not to tell us.

If it had been Gandhi, we might have supposed that the old man was, as usual, speaking without thought for misinterpretation of the truth that came so easily from him. But Nehru, the rhetorician, Nehru, the statesman, Nehru, the Westerner, knows better. He knows what we understand him to say when he bids us to follow Gandhi's way and, of course, resist aggression.

Neither Nehru nor India is lost, and maybe Nehru will ride out the crisis that no man has ridden out yet, the crisis of governing both successfully and morally. And at no time in history has the crisis been clearer. Truth and love, said Gandhi, are the political, no less than the personal, way, and faith in the living God, said Gandhi, is the instrument and the only instrument. Gandhi did not have to govern.

The people with coats and morals of mink sat spellbound as Nehru told them everywhere of the revolution of the Indian oppressed against tyranny, enslavement, and racism. They loved it. It didn't cost them a cent, and what an interesting accent, my dear, for a Negro. They didn't know, for sure, whether India was in Africa or Australia, but they loved it. And they did hear about a revolution somewhere that didn't threaten them.

(*Please turn to Page* 32)

The Fellowship's Secretary Sees 1950 in Terms of—

Pacifism and the Problem of Power

By A. J. MUSTE

A good many people, including some pacifists, hold that pacifism is a tenable and possibly even a noble position for the individual, or for certain individuals, but not one that a nation can or should adopt. It has, they say, no direct application where problems of power and politics are involved.

This limiting pacifism to a nonpolitical role I question on several grounds. If pacifism is valid for some, it ought to be for all, and certainly for very many. As soon as the pacifists in a given country amounted to a sizable minority, however, they inevitably would constitute a political force and affect the power-position of that country. I can remember General Lewis B. Hershey, the head of the Selective Service Administration, speculating during the war on how large the number of "termites"—conscientious objectors—could be before a government would decide that it could not extend any toleration or recognition to them!

Moreover, whether or not the practitioner of nonviolence eschews political activity, the problems of politics and of national policy are there. I question whether any individual, with the possible exception of the solitary monk, can avoid them. One cannot really function as a pacifist in some areas of one's life and as a nonpacifist in others.

On the other hand, if the problems of politics are dealt with on a nonmoral basis, political life tends to become immoral. A power-entity with no element of morality and nobility in it degenerates into a tyranny or a fascist regime. Even such regimes try to justify their existence and their wars on moral grounds. But if morality enters into the picture, then the question whether ethical considerations do not require the renunciation of war and the practice of nonviolence has to be faced.

Finally, dependence on nonviolent methods is increasing in many spheres, including the education of children and the treatment of lawbreakers and the mentally ill. Is the political realm an exception to this tendency to rule out violence as irrational, impractical, and perhaps immoral? Certainly there is a tendency for the State to claim to be an exception, and to insist that there is no practical limit to what it may and must do to insure its own survival. But if a state proceeds on this basis, it has of course no moral ground to stand on when another state behaves in the same way. In that case the power-state degenerates into fascism or some form of "naked" totalitarianism.

My position, then, is that nonviolence is relevant to politics, and to the situations in which "power" is involved; and I wish to deal here with some of the questions that are asked about this position.

One of the difficulties people

have in accepting the idea that war should and can be renounced springs from an assumed analogy between war and police action. The question runs: "If the police sometimes have to use force to restrain an evildoer, then may there not be an aggressor, a 'mad-dog' nation or dictator who simply has to be shot down?"

Philosophically, the argument runs that if force is ever justified, then there is no logical place to stop, and you have to use any amount and kind of force necessary to stop the particular offender with whom you happen to be dealing. The policeman collars a teenage gangster who is stealing apples from a pushcart; the United States drops an atomic bomb in Hiroshima to bring the Japanese warlords to heel.

A good many people, including not a few sophisticated ones, think that these two and all that come between form parts of one pattern. If you do not reject the first, you have let yourself in for accepting the second. What they forget is the law that a difference in degree beyond a certain point becomes a difference in kind. The biologists, I understand, teach that there are no absolutely clear lines between the unicellular amoeba and the next form of life and the next and the next up to the elephant or man. Still for practical purposes there is a substantial difference between an elephant and an amoeba.

I am willing to grant that the pacifist case rests largely on the efficacy of soul-force, positive goodwill, love and reconciliation, and pacifists are bound to question any resort to force or violence by others or themselves. But our friends who charge us with perfectionism and insist that we have to take account of relativities should be the last to argue that the justification of some use of force necessarily means justifying any amount and kind of violence!

The case for a distinction between police force and war has been stated often and it should suffice here to review its bare outline.

Police Not an Army

Police are enjoined to the use of a minimum of violence upon the known individual "aggressor." There is a real chance that some injury will be prevented. The offender has his day in court, so that reforming and redeeming influences may possibly work upon him. No attack is made on the relatives or neighbors of the lawbreaker.

In the case of war, the real offenders are rarely placed in jeopardy. Far from making anyone safer, war increases insecurity. The object is maximum destruction, and so on.

Many nonpacifists think that civilized society is based on force: the ability of the community to use violence to enforce the peace. Power, they assert, is the decisive factor. So in the relations between nations, it is thought, ultimately the showdown is on the basis of power. There is some question as to how the nation should use its power, but in the final analysis the nation is power.

Actually, force plays no such important role in the community. The basic social unit—the family—is not held together by force or violence. Nor is it the police, the courts—much less the military—that create the community. The community creates them, and everyone knows how helpless they are when trying to enforce a law

the citizens do not accept. How many police per square foot or cubic citizen are there in the reader's town? It is the "authority" conferred upon it that sanctions the "power" in the hands of law-enforcing agencies and makes them effective within a limited area.

"Nevertheless," it is argued, "lawless elements will get out of control if some force is not used or at least at hand to be used."

Let us grant this for the sake of the argument. Then several observations may be made. One is that this use of force to insure the individual citizen that he is normally safe from burglary or murder is an entirely different thing from the use of force by the power-state. The idea that it is the government of the United States and its submarines and bombers that make me safe on Broadway in New York and my uncle on his farm in Iowa is simply not so. In an ordinary community—and there are vast numbers of them all over the world—John Q. Citizen is "safe" as he goes about his daily work and pleasures whether it be in a small country that couldn't lick anybody or in a colossus armed to the teeth. He may, in fact, be safer in the former. In this sense a vast number of people are secure and turn out their work every day in totalitarian lands and even in wartime unless they happen to be at the front or under bombardment.

Year in and year out people don't get murdered because most people simply are not murderers. They don't have their things stolen because for the most part people are not thieves and because most people have very little worth stealing.

When an unusual amount of "crime" occurs it is not because there are too few police but because there are unremedied inequalities and injustices in the community, or because educational facilities are inadequate, or something of the sort. When such a situation is met with more police, the effect is that the cause of the trouble is ignored and continues to operate, and the police must be increased again and again. (To a great extent, of course, the police in most countries serve not in a simple and direct way to keep the public peace but to maintain a certain economic and political status quo, to defend "property" that may have been acquired under a system essentially unjust or antisocial. The more police are used thus in a community, the less peace there is, and the nearer it approaches a state of civil war.)

The Military and Discontent

The military in their domestic function are used—or stand ready to be used—against the people of their country should they seek overt ways of expressing dissatisfaction, as in strikes, for example. This is true in Russia and in the United States; it is true of revolutionary armies, royal armies, and democratic armies. The current Military Aid Plan expressly stipulates that some of the money the United States gives to Western European countries is to secure the governments against internal disorder. That does not mean to direct traffic or arrest thieves in Paris or Amsterdam or Rome.

An army is an instrument of a power-state, which is by its nature constantly jockeying for position as against every other power-state. That is why we are so sensitive about entrusting a few atomic bombs to our dearest allies, and

why the United States is engaged today in rebuilding Germany and Japan, as it helped rebuild Germany after World War I. The enemy of yesterday is tomorrow's ally, and vice versa, in the game of power.

The National "Interests"

It is argued also that a nation's armed forces maintain and advance the "interests" of the nation or people. Insofar as these interests are tangible they usually are class interests that are to the disadvantage of other nations, such as getting markets abroad or keeping competitive goods out. To the extent that such interests are gained or defended by open or covert violence, they are basically uneconomic. Trade in the economic or productive sense does not take place at the point of a gun. It is largely because we do not want trade on that basis, despite our professions about free trade and free enterprise, and because we do want to continue to control half the wealth of the world, that we maintain the armed forces.

It is true that for a period the people generally in an advanced country may have a higher standard of living, relatively speaking, because they get a share in the exploitation of other people by the advanced nation's "interests." This was true of the British workers in the last century, as it is of American workers today. It does not seem necessary to comment on whether this is in the true or permanent interest of Americans or Argentinians.

Apart from this, I do not believe that the American military establishment provides me or my family or neighbors with any protection. It is, rather, a major source of insecurity, as it is in a sense a product of the insecurity, fear, and greed of both my neighbor and myself. It is the armed state that taxes and conscripts us, and perpetually forces us into war.

It is also in relation to participation in the power struggle with other nations that in the nature of the case the people of any nation have to make a drastic either-or choice. I do not see any way in which a nation can be 100 percent in the power struggle as a sovereign nation today, ninety percent in and ten percent out tomorrow, seventy-five percent in and twenty-five percent out the next day and so on. It is on this rack of proportional reduction of armament that all the efforts at gradual liquidation of the power conflict are wrecked. Neither war nor peace can be waged on a percentage basis. A man who is walking in the wrong direction straight away from his goal has to turn around and start walking in the right direction. Having once done that he may of course have some distance still to go but he does not accomplish anything by turning a little to right or left.

We are told from time to time that a pacifist may sacrifice his own life if he wishes, but when others are involved he is bound to protect them, if necessary by war. If we grant, as I think we must, that we are our brother's keeper, then as a Christian I cannot believe that my son is any more precious in the sight of God than Ivan Mustevitch's son in Russia. As a human being, not confused by nationalistic emotion, I do not know how to score one boy as against another for expendability by my decision. When I decide by means of war to defend the one, I equally decide to

place the other in jeopardy of his life. It seems to me that for a Christian certainly the decision would be intolerable even if it could be proved that anybody anywhere got security and even if as one of the older generation he were not also assuming the astonishing responsibility of sending his own son also to death!

Under contemporary conditions it becomes more and more dubious whether any "interests" are actually served by atomic war. Power as incarnated in the nation-state becomes its own justification, the ultimate value. Neither the United States nor Russia can play second fiddle to the other. We move rapidly toward the nightmare pictured by George Orwell in *1984* in which totalitarian states based on naked power engage in perpetual war.

The irony and tragedy of the situation inhere in the fact that this power-entity, which is actually the great menace to security and to civilized values, is for the great majority the highest value, to which they give the greatest devotion. Caesar is put in the place of Christ. The power-state becomes, in Hobbes' phrase, "our mortal God."

Few people realize the extent to which the state receives their supreme loyalty. Imagine what the reaction would be if the church set about conscripting its youth to preach the Gospel to Communists and Russians, but most church members will let the state conscript them to kill Russians.

On historical grounds, whatever may have been the case in the past, nationalism is now outworn. The nation-state is the obstacle to world community. Idolatry of it is betrayal of world-community.

These simple facts are obscured for people because they are led to think that it is nationalism and militarism embodied in the other country that is the root of the evil. Kill it there, and it will be dead. But it will not be dead; only the power relationships will have shifted. Actually each nation keeps the other in being, like two posts leaning against each other. The harder they push against each other the more firmly they stand. Russia and the United States today behave so much like puppets being manipulated so that a move on the part of each is matched exactly by the other that it would be very funny if it were not so humiliating to see great peoples behaving like school boys in their bad moments and if the results did not spell tragedy for mankind.

Attack Militarism Here

Nationalistic militarism is the evil and, as Lenin taught (but not Stalin any more) there is only one place where you can attack it effectively. That is "here," not "over there." If that should contribute to the defeat of "one's own country" in war, I think we must say with Lenin that this would be "the lesser evil." At least in one country the people would have struck a blow at nationalism and militarism itself, not engaged in another slaughter of the people of another country at the behest of nationalism and militarism. Surely no one in the western world will question that the creative period in modern Russia was the moment when the Russian soldiers walked out from under the Czar and his regime and turned to the task of building a new world at home. Hostile intervention on the part of many powers had astonishingly little effect

on that internal revolution. Certainly, it did not stop that revolution! Tragically, it contributed to the revival of nationalism and militarism in Russia.

But it is not inevitable that abandonment of nationalism and militarism in one land should expose it to new danger. It well might be the signal for a general return to sanity. On the whole, as fear begets fear and militarism stimulates militarism, trust will beget trust and nonviolence will provoke nonviolence.

International of Good Will

The one real and hopeful alternative to the Communist International is an International of Goodwill and Nonviolence. It will be composed of people and groups in each country who are loyal to the world community and to their own nation only as it is itself a loyal member of the One World, not part of a "world" armed against another "world." They will undermine by every nonviolent and loving means at their disposal the nationalism and militarism at home, of which they have been supporters. They will try to get their own people to start a disarmament race and win it.

The members of this International are the only people who will be able to talk effectively to Communists and so to avert the Communist "menace." They will be able to deal with Communists because they will not hate them; because they will not give them and the Russians new cause for fear; because they will stand on higher, truly international ground; because in nonviolence and love they will have a power that is real, as is that of the Communists, but of a higher order; and because they will be as ready to die for their faith as the Communists are. They will be able, as I have said elsewhere, to say to the Russians and Communists: "We are not fighting you; why do you fight us? We have stopped supporting our militarism; why do you support yours? We are not engaged in trying to stop the social revolution; why do you rest satisfied with your aborted, pseudo-revolution which seeks to dominate rather than liberate the peoples? Why not join hands and achieve together the true revolution of brothers building brotherhood?"

The Christian Church was, of course, meant to be such a supranational, universal society, an International of Goodwill and Nonviolence, armed with love, a ferment in society, a light of the world. It is not that now, but I think it must not be written off.

The conversion of Garry Davis to pacifism and the convening of the World Pacifist Meeting in India throughout December 1949 may contribute significantly to the development of pacifism as an international force with true substance and drive. The Conference on Church and War, set up by the Historic Peace Churches, the Conference on the Church and War meeting in Henry Hitt Crane's church in Detroit on May 8-11, 1950, under the chairmanship of Albert E. Day, may help to determine whether the church in this country shall indeed "be the church," no longer subordinated to nationalism or involved in war, but truly a creation of the God of love and thus "a light to lighten the nations, to shine upon them that sit in darkness and the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace."

"Don't Let the Body Come Back, and Don't Send any Cash Along"

By LYDEL SIMS

IF YOU REALLY WANT to get rid of your body, you must be sure to tell the hospital people they are not to send it back, Miss Muriel Lester cautioned me yesterday.

She was explaining this perfectly marvelous method she had found for ridding one's self of the need for saving money for burial expenses.

"I simply wrote to the hospital," she said, "and offered them the use of my body for study after I died." Her British accent stretched the "a" in "after" as broad as it would go, and then hurried along.

"I told them if it was any good to them, they were welcome to it —and they wrote back they would be delighted.

"I spread that around, you know," she added with the excitement of a little girl telling a secret.

"But then I learned you must be careful. I got another letter from them saying they wanted to assure me that when they were through they would sew me up nicely and send the body back!"

Miss Lester looked very stern.

"I simply wrote to them and said, 'If you are going to send it back, I shan't let you have it!' "

This final solution of the problem is a source of great satisfaction to Miss Lester, because she is "keen on drama and music" and prefers to spend her money while she is alive.

The money Miss Lester spends on amusements in a month might get a Memphis teen-ager through one rainy afternoon, but it's doubtful. She is what her friends call an "apostle of voluntary poverty," a phrase which is far more stuffy than Miss Lester could be if she tried.

She's a tall, friendly woman with a weather-browned face, gray hair and eyes that squint somewhat as if she had spent most of her life in a brilliant illumination. Her brain is sharp, quick and fearfully dogged; we were half finished with our talk before I realized she was actually interviewing me, and with embarrassing results.

She let me off the hook long enough to say she had been born of wealthy parents on a country estate near London and grew up with all she needed or wished for.

The only shadows in her life, apparently, had been her father's "bad conscience" when he awakened in the morning and considered those less fortunate, and the experience of passing through the

Someone sent us a clipping the other day from the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, and it seemed to convey the spirit of Muriel Lester so well that we decided to reprint it (with permission) for those who know her, and as an introduction to her enchanting personality for those who have not met her in person. She left this country on January 12 for England after a six-months' tour here. Muriel is a Traveling Secretary for the IFOR, and in the past couple of years has been to Australia and New Zealand, China, Japan, India and most of the countries of Europe.

slums of London's East End, to reach the parties of the West End.

When she was approaching twenty, she went with a friend to a factory girls' dance in the East End, and what she saw started her on her career of "fellowship."

She left her home, got a room in the East End, and launched a program that culminated in the founding of famous Kingsley Hall, a slum-district center similar to Jane Addams' Hull House in Chicago.

Starting as a "very militaristic" young lady, she became a pacifist after reading a book by Tolstoi, *The Kingdom of God Is Within You.* She plunged into England's political life, wrote books, spent nights in jail, was elected an alderman in her borough, visited Gandhi and Tagore in India, and became a leader in the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist organization.

In 1934, after thirty years' work in Kingsley Hall, she turned the leadership over to younger hands and became traveling secretary for the Fellowship.

She was in Memphis yesterday after a world tour that has included visits to Germany, India, New Zealand and Australia.

Miss Lester sat on a bench in LeMoyne College's shaded campus yesterday and told me about her financial life.

Does it embarrass her to accept money for her lectures? Not in the jolly well least! "I take money gladly," she beamed.

"The worship of the golden calf is a real religion today," she said. "And there is another—an inverted worship—in which people emphasize money by being so self-conscious about it, so eager to appear not to be interested in it.

"These are the ones who, at the moment when they are to be paid for a service, can't bear to take the money unless it's slipped to them in an envelope."

Not Miss Lester. She takes it openly and frankly, and then she applies what she calls "psychological economic discipline."

"When I want to buy a chocolate soda—and I love them—I think that a Chinese child could have ten dinners on what I will spend," she said. "It's very effective."

For years Miss Lester lived in the East End in an upstairs room of a house with no indoor water supply. And she says she got along very nicely on two pounds a week.

"You get such fun shopping for bargains," she said. "I am really very sorry for people who spend money whenever they feel like it—they miss the fun."

For two and a half years she belonged to a group made up of persons of all economic levels from poverty to riches.

"We met each month and owned up to just how much income we had during the month, and just how we spent it," she said. "It's a marvelous experience for finding out what can be done with money."

It even taught her to do without gloves except in the winter.

"It was a wonderful feeling—you learned you could walk right down Regent Street without wearing gloves. When I first did it, I felt ghastly, but then I realized no one paid any attention."

Her realization that many of her East End neighbors sacrificed to put aside burial-expense money, gave her the hospital idea.

"But you must be sure," she repeated, recalling her experience with the hospital, "be sure to tell them they're not to send it back!"

News from the Peace Front

FOR College Section Holds Student Conference

On December 9 and 10 the College Section of the FOR, of which Bayard Rustin is the Director, held a two-day conference on pacifism in education at Union Theological Seminary in New York. The program included addresses by George Buttrick of Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City, on "Religion, Education and Total War," by John Oliver Nelson of the Federal Council of Churches on "Philosophies Challenging Pacifism Today," by Bayard Rustin on "The FOR College Program Today," and by Professor Charles Iglehart of Union Theological Seminary on "Where Do We Go From Here?" There were papers prepared beforehand on various aspects of pacifism and education, which were read and discussed at the conference. The conference was attended by forty students from twenty schools and colleges.

Court Denies Gara Appeal

The Sixth U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati on November 27 upheld the conviction of Larry Gara, Bluffton College dean and teacher, on a charge of counseling nonregistration. The higher court said in part: "The fact that Mr. Gara sincerely believed it was his Christian duty to oppose registration for the draft does not absolve him from violation of the statute." In reference to Mr. Gara's contention that his freedom of speech had been abridged, the court declared that he might attack the Selective Service law "in any way from any platform so long as he did not counsel disobedience to the law."

Gara was originally convicted last May 6 in the U. S. District Court in Toledo, and sentenced to 18 months in prison. He was eligible for parole in early December, and was paroled on December 6. He was first arrested in early January last year and held in jail without bail until his sentencing May 6. This time did not count on his sentence. The District Court denied him bail after his conviction and pending the appeal, as did a higher court to which the issue of bail was carried.

Sponsor Church and War Conference for May

On May 8 to 11, 1950, there will be a National Conference on the Church and War, to be held at the First Methodist Church in Detroit. It is being sponsored by the FOR, the American Friends Service Committee, the Brethren Service Committee, the Mennonite Central Committee, and the denominational pacifist fellowships, and Albert Edward Day will be the chairman. Papers will be prepared in advance by Howard Brinton, Nels F. S. Ferre, Joseph Fletcher, Robert L. Calhoun, Walter M. Horton, Walter Muelder, Donovan Smucker, Culbert Rutenber, E. Raymond Wilson, A. J. Muste, and others.

Fellowship Grows at German FOR School

In its second year now, the Freundschaftsheim, Pastor Wilhelm Mensching's peace school in Petzen, Germany, is bearing already its precious fruit of reconciliation and brotherhood. George Hogle, American FOR member who worked for a year with Mensching and visited there again last fall, brings back the heartening report. Among those at the school are a Jewish girl who fled from the Nazi terror but came back to work for peace; disillusioned young former Nazis dedicated to a pacifist rebuilding of a ruined land; a Polish girl, utterly embittered by the German devastation of her country, now working there, she and her young New Zealand Methodist minister husband staying on at great personal sacrifice to help with the work.

Just as remarkable is the support of the simple village folk, who make room in their already crowded homes for visitors to the Freundschaftsheim, who leave gifts of food quietly on the doorstep, and who time and again dig into their pockets to leave a precious few marks after meetings.

Money has been scarce since the currency reform especially, and the few buildings now erected were made possible largely by the generous aid of the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship in this country. Even with this help it seemed that the little brick house urgently needed for headquarters could not be finished. When this became known an extraordinarily unembittered Jew came forward with a gift of 10,000 bricks from his brickworks; the mayor, who is also a mason, quietly offered to give 1,000 marks in service; and the chief carpenter did the same on his own.

Much help is still needed to make possible the continuation of this valuable job of reconciliation and education for peace. An American Committee has been formed, of which Grace Rhoads, of Box 90, Moorestown, N. J., is the American Representative. Money and materials are urgently needed.

A. J. Muste Birthday Celebrated in January

In January A. J. Muste reached his 65th birthday just after his return from India. On January 14th, a few days later, he was the guest of honor at a birthday celebration organized by his friends. Norman Thomas was master of ceremonies, and the Rev. Henry Vruwink spoke briefly about A. J.'s college and seminary days, Tom Tippett reviewed the years at Brookwood Labor College and in the labor movement, and Douglas Steere brought the story up to date with the years in the FOR. Refreshments were served, and A. J. cut a big birthday cake.

During the ceremonies a check was presented to him as the first instalment of a fund which is being collected. The fund is to be disposed of as A. J. wishes. Anyone wishing to contribute to it may send checks to Evan Thomas, Treasurer, c/o Cara Cook, 120 West 69th Street, New York 23, New York.

The four honorary co-chairmen of the committee were Roger Baldwin, John P. Burke, John Haynes Holmes and Norman Thomas, and sponsors included Harry Emerson Fosdick, Milton Mayer, Dorothy Maynor, Reinhold Niebuhr, John

Raitt, Lillian Smith, Pierre van Paassen, Alfred M. Bingham, John Dewey, Waldo Frank, Horace M. Kallen, Scott Nearing, Mrs. Mary K. Simkhovitch, Mark Starr, and Vinal H. Tibbetts.

California COs Paroled in December

Atlee Shidler, Art Emlen, Walt Coppock and Gilbert McFadden of California, all of whom were in the Tucson, Arizona, prison camp serving three-year sentences for refusal to register for the draft, were paroled in December, after serving one-third of their terms. Philip Howard will probably be paroled in January, when he becomes eligible.

Campaign on for Draft Extension

In October and November the armed services swung into their campaign for extension of the Selective Service law when it expires next June, and passage of a UMT law. General Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service, on October 14 declared that the Army was 25,000 below strength, and needed the draft to recoup. Before that month was over, however, it was announced that the Army was discharging 30,000 men in order to reduce its strength.

In November a number of speeches by prominent military men showed that the campaign was well under way. In spite of the Army's eagerness for the draft, there is considerable reluctance in Congress to renew the law. Whether legislators would be proof against one of the "crises" which mysteriously arise when a piece of military legislation sticks in Congress is another matter.

FOR Concerned About Communist Trials

The Executive Committee of the FOR expressed its concern about the trial of Communist Party leaders in this country, and expressed the hope that the Supreme Court would declare the Smith Act, under which they were convicted, unconstitutional, or that Congress would repeal it as injurious to the nation and to the democratic way of life. The Smith Act makes it a crime to advocate or teach the overthrow of the government by violence, or to belong to any group which advocates it.

The American tradition has been, the statement points out, to be extremely jealous of the right of men to express even "the thought we loathe," and on the other hand to be confident that under conditions of free discussion the people will sift truth from falsehood for themselves, and do not need a dictator or any other authority to tell them what to think or speak or write.

Recent history in other countries, the Executive Committee says, has clearly shown that once the principle of freedom of expression and association is violated every unorthodox of unpopular opinion may be threatened with proscription and its exponents with prosecution. This is the very dictatorship and totalitarianism against which we desire to defend our country.

Twenty to Attend IFOR Conference

The International FOR conference to be held in Holland on July 24-28, 1950, will be attended by a group of twenty delegates from the United States. Fellowship members who are interested may write to A. J. Muste at the National office, instead of to Percy Bartlett, as previously suggested. Letters which have already been sent to Percy Bartlett will be forwarded to A. J.

Jameson Jones, young FOR member who was recently elected President of the National Conference of Methodist Youth, plans to travel in Europe next summer on the scholarship he won as first prize in the World Council of Churches' essay contest on what young people can do for world peace. He will probably attend the FOR conference, and would like to travel with other like-minded people. Get in touch with him at 810 Broadway, Nashville 2, Tennessee.

FF Unrewarding, PRC Also Behind

The Fellowship Fortnight has been discouraging financially in this bad financial year for the FOR. By the middle of December the income from Mite Boxes, collections taken at dinners and meetings, and other contributions, exclusive of Peace Roll Call, left a deficit of over $700. There were intangible profits, however, which cannot be figured into dollars and cents totals. Many went without one or two meals, or gave up some luxury, in order to send the equivalent to the FOR. In Jacksonville, Florida, the Fellowship sponsored an interracial and interdenominational dinner, at which $51 was raised and men and women of various racial groups sat down to a meal together for the first time for many of them. The group has decided to continue these dinners. Other groups and individuals throughout the country have found valuable ways in which to express the message of the FOR.

The Peace Roll Call, as of December 7, had a net income of about $1354, from the efforts of only 260 cooperators, or about 2 percent of the Fellowship's members. This is poor by FOR standards, from whose membership a much bigger response should be expected, and by whom in past years as much as $5,000 has been raised through the PRC.

Britten and Pears Give Benefit

On December 8 Benjamin Britten, one of the best-known English composers, several of whose operas have been performed in this country, and Peter Pears, who created the leading tenor roles in Mr. Britten's operas in England, gave a benefit concert in New York for the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the War Resisters League. Both are pacifists, and the concert was the concluding one of a tour they made in November and December in the United States and Canada. Mr. Britten accompanies Mr. Pears, and their programs include a number of Mr. Britten's own compositions.

During the intermission two CARE packages were presented to Mr. Britten and Mr. Pears on behalf of the FOR and WRL, to be sent where they wished.

Jottings

At the installation in Allan Hunter's church of the camphorwood cross carved from a tree from Hiroshima, a moving litany for forgiveness and peace was spoken, and a commitment to the things of God and peace was repeated in unison by the congregation.

* * *

So far in this session the 81st Congress has passed legislation authorizing or recommending expenditures for military and related purposes of $24,951,411,605. In contrast, during the fiscal year 1949 the United States contributed $128,734,489 to *all* international organizations to which it belongs, including the UN, the International Refugee Organization, and the International Children's Emergency Fund. Only $24,321,087 was contributed to permanent international organizations, including the UN and its specialized agencies.

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The Rt. Rev. Elwood L. Haines, Episcopal Bishop of Iowa, and an FOR member, died in Los Angeles on October 28 at the age of 56. He had been dean of Christ Church Cathedral in Louisville before that, and had served for four years as a missionary in Liberia.

* * *

The magazine *Politics*, edited by Dwight Macdonald, has been suspended indefinitely, for both financial and personal reasons, according to the editor. The minimum needed for a year's publication was $8,000, which did not seem to be forthcoming; and the editor said that the discouraging political situation, his own reluctance to reassume the routine chores involved, and the fact that his own interests and values are changing, were reasons for his decision. *Vale, Politics.*

* * *

Roger Baldwin, one of the founders and for thirty years the director of the American Civil Liberties Union, will retire from that position soon. His name is synonymous with the fight to establish and preserve civil liberties in this country. He will take up new and enlarged duties in the field of civil liberties.

* * *

The American Friends Service Committee reports that the peace testimony among Friends seems to have been considerably strengthened, and estimates that the improvement is at least 25 percent.

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A few weeks after Bayard Rustin spoke at Tulare Union High School, in California, where the private swimming pool under contract to serve the school excluded Negroes, the school board cancelled the contract because of the discrimination.

* * *

By the end of November Negro Air Force personnel were completely integrated into regular units, and the all-Negro squadron was abolished, according to the New York *Times*.

Secretary wanted, for FOR regional office. Salary: adequate. Work: fascinating and rewarding. Boss: a very nice guy. Write national FOR office for particulars.

Books

Education and Religion

Quaker Education, by Howard Brinton. Pendle Hill, 1949. 110 pp., $1.00.

Although this book is primarily a consideration of Quaker educational experience, it is also a critique of present educational theories and practices, a critique based upon insights into Quakerism as a part of world history and contemporary life.

Especially in Quaker education from 1750 to 1850 does Howard Brinton find some examples of what he believes education should be today. Recognizing that some of the particular manifestations of that early "guarded education" cannot reasonably be recovered, he nevertheless believes there is great need today for experimental schools that will apply again the same philosophy of education. Such schools, like their earlier Quaker counterparts, will "not prepare for the society that is, but for the society that ought to be." To accomplish this, the goals and standards must be derived, not from contemporary culture, but from a divine standard. This is one of the places where the author feels he must part company with progressive education with its emphasis on pragmatism and its willingness to accept the current scale of social and personal values.

The four basic principles which Brinton believes thus characterized Quaker education at its best are community, harmony, equality, and simplicity. The book is largely an elaboration of the successes and failures of Quakers in applying to their schools these principles with their corollaries. Inevitably such schools became a training ground for a specialized religious community, teaching children a way of life that was often at variance with society about them. And pacifists who are searching for an answer to the educational needs of their children will read with interest of these Quaker attempts to build for their children a world apart from the culture Friends believed to be pagan.

For Quakers and pacifists in general, the problem of discipline is a knotty one. Shall education be authoritarian with enforced rules? Or shall it be rational and mystical, relying on reasonableness and love? Howard Brinton takes a moderate position, recognizing the need for some authoritarianism at early stages, but convinced that education does not reach its goal until the "outward props" are not necessary. Some may feel that he does not give quite enough attention to John Bellers, Anthony Benezet, Sarah Tuke Grubb, and Joseph Lancaster, Quaker educators who, far ahead of their times, "ruled by love" to an amazing degree, compensating in some measure for the surprisingly large amount of unimaginative authoritarianism in early Quaker education.

Educators interested in experi-

mental schools will find stimulation in reading of Quaker curricular developments, moulded as they were to standards of rigid simplicity and functional value. Examples are the emphasis on manual activities as the natural starting point in education and the attempts to combine manual work with intellectual pursuits. To read the quotations on education from William Penn, Jonathan Dymond, and Moses Brown is to read ideas strikingly similar to those advanced by Gandhi for India. Those who believe a thoroughgoing reformation of education today will minimize the use of professional teachers and increase student participation will have their interest whetted by reading of Joseph Lancaster's monitorial schools. And finally, Howard Brinton's conviction that a new kind of adult school is necessary today will interest many people. —CECIL E. HINSHAW

Religion and Revolution

The Christian Significance of Karl Marx, by Alexander Miller. The Macmillan Company, 1949. 117 pp., $1.75.

This is as valuable a dollar and seventy-five cents worth of printed matter as has come along in a good while. It is the most perceptive and sympathetic treatment of Christian pacifism that has yet issued from the pen of a Christian thinker and preacher who has not himself fully accepted the pacifist position. Since it also contains an excellent exposition of Marxist thought and its development and a criticism of Marxism-Leninism from the Christian point of view, it ought to be required reading for all theological students and teachers and all ministers. Others should perhaps be warned that the book is not written for kindergartners and will probably be unrewarding for those who do not have some acquaintance with Christian theological terms. It is, however, clearly and pungently written.

The rest of this review I want to devote to Alexander Miller's analysis of the situation confronting Christians and the Christian Church in this revolutionary age. (He is, by the way, a New Zealander who was secretary of the New Zealand Christian Movement, from 1929-32, in charge of churches in the Dockland area of London during the war, and now minister of a Presbyterian Church in New Zealand.) He starts, like Reinhold Niebuhr, with the idea that the function of the state is to establish justice. The Christian Gospel, he holds, "implies no absolute prohibition of force in social life." The state may rightfully use force to prevent anarchy. On the other hand, the right even of violent revolt against a state or society which embodies injustice, exists and—he implies—has perhaps been too infrequently exercised by Christians.

But Christians "can participate in war or in civil commotion" only with the determination, "when force has done what force can do to make and keep the peace," to tackle the evils, which force implies, at the roots. If force is used "as an alternative to the positive work of social betterment it will find itself driven more and more

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21 Audubon Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

to the use of force which is self-destructive."

The author admits that this is what is happening today. He states that there are two significant "live minorities" today which—he is writing mainly about Great Britain—attract students who do not want to yield to numbness of mind and to political helplessness. One is the pacifist and the other the Communist.

Then he raises the question what course is to be taken by those Christian youths and other men and women of goodwill who cannot accept the violence of the Communist and the complete rejection of violence of the pacifist. The only alternative he sees is "the evolution of a new mode of political struggle which would avoid the socially destructive kind of violence which civil and international war involve today." He points to the successful use of "the technique of nonviolent action" in India. He urges that serious account be taken of "the pacifist renunciation of all violent courses" and concludes that the big job for Christians today is to explore the possibility of applying "nonviolent methods of social struggle." This is also, he contends, "our only chance" of bringing together these "live minorities, the pacifist and revolutionary groups, who each represent one significant response to the challenge of contemporary disorder."

This is a profound and brilliant suggestion which I should like to discuss at length and which ought to receive close study by pacifists. For the present, I have only this suggestion to add. The line which Alexander Miller has suggested would also appear to be the one which might unite the pacifists and the socially concerned nonpacifists in the churches. A good many of the latter have been progressives or radicals but they are bound to be drawn increasingly into a conservative or even counter-revolutionary position if they continue to be involved in the atomic war-making policies of the modern power-state. If they would break with war—if not on pacifist grounds, then on the ground that atomic war and modern civil war cannot be "just"—they and pacifists might work together to devise nonviolent means for resistance and for bringing about the deep-going social change which must be achieved if catastrophe is to be avoided. —A. J. Muste

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The Religious Issue

The Plight of Freedom, by Paul Scherer. Harpers, 1948. 226 pp., $2.50.

Dr. Scherer writes as he preaches, with passion for Christian truth and discernment for the needs of the times. He deals expansively with his themes, presenting an end-product more like a strong painting or musical composition than an essay or treatise. Drawing from a large context of history, literature and life, he sketches in ample backgrounds, then thrusts his salient concerns into the foreground with swift, bold strokes.

The disadvantages of this style are simply its advantages in reverse. One reads, or listens, as whole person to a whole situation. The emotional over-all stirs him to a certain mental and spiritual set. Occasionally he gives full assent to some pointed paragraph or trenchant sentence which comes clear from the frame of reference. On the other hand, this spacious and

voluble style sometimes loses the thought in impressions, and sacrifices preciseness of meaning to an epigram. For all this, I like the mode, and approve it as coming nearer to the manner of the spirit than cold logic or detached description. It is the style of the poet and prophet.

With rapier thrusts and sledge hammer blows, the author assails the humanistic conceptions of freedom, and with prophetic reversal of human judgments, dates the beginnings of the thralldom of modern man at the Renaissance. He makes a clear distinction between Renaissance and Reformation, which, though co-incidental in time, were at wide variance in their theories and practices of liberty. The Renaissance mind, with its humanistic trust in reason and its implied or expressed rejection of supernatural controls, has dominated modern man. And now, by the inexorable dialectic which men of faith might have foreseen, its freedom turns to anarchy, which, in its turn, breeds tyranny. This is the plight of freedom in our world.

The Reformation message, which is that of essential Christianity, has been blurred, and needs now to come clear. The whole issue of liberty in our distraught world is the religious issue. "Freedom," says the author, "has amazingly little to do with outward circumstances. It begins with God." "We are free when we obey God; we are slaves when we quit." But again, modern man, engrossed in the idols of idealism, requires the liberation that comes only from the God and Father of the Lord Jesus. The In-

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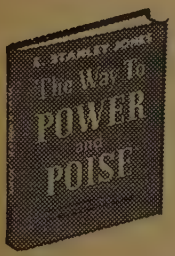

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carnation is necessary and inescapable, the tremendous event of grace invading history. The author quotes Berdyaev: "The true starting-point of Christianity is neither God nor man, but the God who for us was made man."

So this whole book deals with the relevance of the truth-in-Christ to the contemporary problem of our lost freedom. The oft-repeated charge of irrelevancy against the Gospel may not be much longer maintained. It is we who are irrelevant in supposing that we can manufacture truth and freedom independently of the author of the truth which alone makes free. It is not so much a problem of our finding Christ, but rather one of the impossibility of losing him.

"By man's very failure to understand himself and the world he lives in," the author states his thesis, "he has lost his freedom and become incapable, so long as that failure persists, of recovering either its substance or its truly meaningful forms; is therefore in fact doomed, should he elect to go on as he is, to a series of ever-increasing catastrophes, moving toward extinction."

In the chapter on "The Pilgrimage of Conscience," he appraises the state we have come to under four dominant ideas, all associated with the rejection of essential Christianity. These are: Indulgence without Obedience; Bread without Work; Privilege without Responsibility; and Morals without Religion. And reigning over all these false assumptions is the dogma of the relativity of all things, a preachment that finds almost as much support in popular religion as in popular philosophies.

Pacifism is dealt with directly only in the footnotes, but the application of this whole chapter to the issue of peace and war is unavoidable. There may come a searching of conscience on the part of the intellectual and religious leaders who, when the greatest moral crisis of our time was upon us, enervated resolution by ridiculing absolutism in the name of an absolute relativism, and propounding as recent discoveries the ancient doctrines of necessity and the choice of lesser evils. Discussing "the impossible possibility," the author says: "Our prime difficulty does not lie in the impracticability. Our prime difficulty lies in the soul's allegiance. . . . The argument of the impossible possibility (hurled against pacifism) would apply equally as well to the revolt against any and every intrenched evil."

The two concluding chapters on "The Return of the Neighbor" and "The Savor of Life" extend the hope of the cultural product of the new season of grace which will come when men have satisfied the given spiritual conditions of their freedom.

—George Miles Gibson

ABOUT THE ADS

FELLOWSHIP declines advertising which it considers obviously unsuitable. However, it does not want to censor ideas. FELLOWSHIP feels that it is a sound educational and democratic approach to assume that members can and should decide for themselves which ideas they want to follow up and which are useless or repugnant to them.

Letters

The Curtain

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

According to my concept of the function of FELLOWSHIP, the magazine should be concerned with helping pacifists to think clearly about troublesome problems, e.g., the European situation. I do not expect to find articles, like "Behind the Curtain," which are emotionally predisposed to defend, at the price of poor logic, such things as United States foreign policy, American democracy, or even British socialism.

In the first place, Mr. Paine listed the people who accompanied him on the tour as churchmen and educators, with the exception of Henry Pratt Fairchild who was also listed as the "Secretary of the National Council of American-Soviet Relations." What precautions did Mr. Paine take to inform us of the objectivity of these rather important group members? Does Mr. Paine think them unnecessary because FELLOWSHIP readers are too naive to be aware of the rather public charges of useful fellow-travelling which exist against Kirtley Mather and Mr. Fairchild? I believe FELLOWSHIP readers would go along with Mr. Paine and the editors, *if* he had stated openly that he wanted the readers to know about the political persuasion of certain members of his group, but that he felt that his own conclusions were independently arrived at and completely uninfluenced by his companions. No statement one way or the other appeared from the author; no editorial comments from the staff cleared up this mystery.

Mr. Paine tells us that he was impressed by the fact that "the active Communists are terrifically in earnest, working intensely, supremely confident." What Communist isn't? Fundamentally, though, is this a *good* thing? Aren't such personality characteristics essentially amoral except as earnestness, cooperativeness, courage or confidence are associated with good or bad *purposes?* Do we look with admiration on a Nazi SS man who is "earnest, confident," hard working, or would we prefer one who was troubled, slothful, and lacked enthusiasm?

Mr. Paine may possibly be defending the purpose of these party workers when he lists some of the physical accomplishments of the satellite regimes. He tells us, for instance, that "one plant is turning out forty freight cars daily," that another, "situated near a coal mine, is producing electric power for all the region thereabout." Now just exactly what does this pageant of industrial development tell us? How does the rate of "forty freight cars daily" compare with old figures—was this in Polish-held German Silesia? Who gets to use the cars after they are made? Are the workers allowed to strike for higher pay or shorter hours in the peoples' democratically owned freight car shops?

We want to know about civil and political liberties, but all we are told is that Mindszenty's trial "was conducted openly, fairly, with many newspaper correspondents close by, and the evidence against him was overwhelming." Without annoying the author for more detailed and possibly embarrassing proof for these assertions, I shall note that he seems very willing to accept the charge itself at full face value. We are given to believe that "innocence" is a *good* thing if the charge

is "working vigorously to overthrow the Communist regime." Was Bishop Berggrav "guilty" of undermining the Nazi regime?

Another way in which Mr. Paine failed to clear up our thinking as pacifists was in his announcement of conditions which we either already knew about or would have assumed without argument. We know, for instance, that rebuilding has been going on, that the wealth and position of the aristocratic and bourgeois classes are being expropriated, that some provisions have been made for food and rent subsidies; and what workers' republic is without its increase in schooling and the inevitable "rest homes for the workers"? To offer readers this information without analysis, without putting it in context, can only leave us to believe that Mr. Paine considers them unique, unmixed blessings. Again I must use an invidious comparison and say that Hitler's program included every single one of the above points.

We are now at the heart of the matter, for it must be clear that a true democrat, a pacifist, could never *balance* these material advances with the complete loss of political, individual and cultural liberty which obtained in each totalitarian regime. Forty box cars a day just can't be equated with antisemitism, any more than a workers' rest home is tangible proof that the dignity of man has been preserved.

Only one thing is clear: that the misleading impressions in "Behind the Curtain" have in no way served to help us avoid the mistake "which sees all good on one side and all bad on the other." Perhaps Mr. Paine and the yet more irresponsible editor might ponder Sidney Hook's prescription for recognizing the marks of a fellow traveler, from his article "Academic Integrity and Academic Freedom," *Commentary*, October 1949.

ROBERT DAVISON
New York, New York

. . . In publishing without comment George Paine's "Behind the Curtain," you seem to have slipped a little from your usual high level of responsible and well-informed editing.

The representations of the article, and especially the part devoted to the Mindszenty trial, seem grossly at variance with numerous other reports. Like Mr. Paine, I was absent from the trial. But from the volume of information available about the trial and its conduct, there is every reason to doubt that the procedure was fair.

It is reported, for example, that the Cardinal was refused his own counsel. And how can anyone say the trial was conducted "openly," when no representative of the NCWC (Catholic) News Service—accredited even in Moscow—was allowed to cover the trial? These are but two bits of evidence cited at random.

JOHN DOEBELE
Chicago, Illinois

...FELLOWSHIP has rendered a questionable service to its readers by publishing George L. Paine's superficial and skewed account of conditions in four European "People's Democracies." True, U. S. newspapers give a distorted view of the situation. But attempts to "show the other side" by listing positive elements, such as increased production on a certain collective farm, completely out of context, help little toward genuine understanding.

In August, 1949, I took a study group of eight Americans to Prague on ordinary tourist visas. We stayed in a private home. Without official sponsorship or guides we had more freedom than Mr. Paine's group. Nevertheless we met officials in the Ministries of Information, Education and Social Service. We talked with religious leaders, educators, social service workers and ordinary people. Despite background differences within our group we had three unanimous conclusions:

(1) The majority of people in Czechoslovakia would vote against the present regime if a free election without reprisals were held. Estimates of the opposition by persons with whom we talked varied from 70 percent to 85 percent.

(2) The people feel they have lost to a considerable extent their civil rights as individuals and their independence as a nation. Most Protestant leaders, along with the Catholic Church, viewed with profound misgiving the proposed church control law which has since been enacted.

(3) Many people are praying for war —a war of liberation. They see no other way out. This is the most tragic commentary on the present situation. Reliable reports indicate that great numbers in Poland and other European countries under the Soviet heel are also asking God for the blessing of war!

Paine's assertion that Cardinal Mindszenty's "trial was conducted openly, fairly," is one of the most naive euphemisms for the subversion of justice that I have ever heard. Judged by the same standards, the U. S. trial of the eleven Communists (which the FOR Executive Committee termed a "regrettable event in our national history") is the epitome of justice in comparison with the "trial" in Budapest.

Clear-headed peacemaking demands understanding. And understanding must be based on all essential facts set in a meaningful context. I should be grateful if the Editors of FELLOWSHIP would present an Iron Curtain article that would meet this exacting requirement.

ERNEST LEFEVER
New Haven, Connecticut

Don't forget the new address!
FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
21 Audubon Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

Paine Replies

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Ernest Lefever's tirade against my article on "Behind the Iron Curtain" really does not touch its contents at all. He makes three statements relative to the views of the majority of the people in Czechoslovakia—apparently the only country he visited, whereas I toured through Poland and Hungary and Yugoslavia as well as Czechoslovakia—who are in opposition to the present regime. I also accept those statements. But he makes no denial of the specific facts I brought out covering the four countries. My statements were based on what I actually heard and saw. He attempts no refutation of my four major points, to wit (1) the very vigorous efforts of all the people to repair their frightful war damages and to develop farm and especially industrial production; (2) the partial dividing up of the large estates among the landless and the eager participation of these peasants on the relatively few state or collective farms already set up; (3) the somewhat improved standard of living of the large majority of the people (not the former wealthy or middle class, always few in number in Eastern Europe); (4) the acceptance of the new state controls over, and subsidies to, the churches by the Orthodox Church and various other groups. As said Lefever so I also said that the Roman Catholics and most of the tiny Protestant groups are opposed.

In regard to the Mindszenty trial, there will doubtless always be two sides, but to make it one hundred percent sure on one side as does Lefever is due either to ignorance or bias or both. That is not the way to come to an understanding of any "other side," certainly not of communism which—like it or not—has made such rapid advance all around the world.

GEORGE L. PAINE
Sevagram, India

The Challenge

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Five years ago this month my husband was killed on a food-dropping mission over India-Burma. Very reluctantly he allowed himself to be drafted. Often I'd listened in on discussions with his sister (my roommate) concerning war and why he felt there was no need for it. She, like so many so-called Christians, based her argument on the Bible, but he being well read in that book as on almost every subject, contradicted her. Finally, perhaps to "save" his family's name and because a younger brother was a member of the National Guard he ended their last discussion with these words—"I'll go, but when I come back I'm going to be a one-man crusader against war." We weren't married at the time, but I knew he would not be alone in that campaign.

Now the government is not content to let him rest in peace where he died, but is bringing the remains of him and his buddies back for reburial at a National Shrine (so they call it) at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, at some near future date. Not only do I see no object of such reopening of a partly healed wound in my heart; but that old bitterness and resentment against war is again making me furious at being ordered around without our consent whatsoever. I belong to the Gold Star Wives Club and my local president promptly suggested that instead of going there (at our own expense) to torture myself, I might have one of our Gold Star Wives from St. Louis represent me at the funeral.

Therefore I've decided I could use that expense money to some better cause—I mean something in line with that Peace Crusade. In fact if the government should use all the money it is spending on reburials and bringing back "empty boxes" on some worthwhile cause, even a memorial fund for our children or try to teach the public against war just as they have taught too many for war—well, it might bring about a happier world.

I, myself, do not have the background to carry on my husband's pledge, but surely in this big United States there must be others who felt like he did and perhaps through your organization I can be of some financial help to someone as an individual, or as a group, or however you feel $75 or more might do the most good. I am seriously thinking of making a monthly offering too. I don't know whether that would mean a sort of scholarship or what, as I'm only thinking out loud. Please give me further ideas.

A high school classmate of my husband who remained a pacifist throughout the war suggested I write to your organization. He handed me several copies of FELLOWSHIP, and I sincerely believe at last I've found a group of people who think and feel as I do.

Please send me a year's subscription to FELLOWSHIP. I'll enclose a check for that purpose, and if it proves to be the kind of literature I think it is—well, my Christmas shopping is finished for this year. That little magazine can say things more effectively and more persistently than I could do.

MRS. MARGARET B. HOVICK
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Nehru Goes West

(*Continued from Page* 8)

Nehru is back home now, with a quarter of his government's budget allocated for armaments. He sounded like a statesman—a cultivated statesman, head and shoulders above anything we have in America or Europe—but ten years ago, to the three ragged Indians waiting for him at the bus depot, he sounded like a prophet. Maybe prophecy and hydro-electric power don't mix.

A New Year, A New Era

We can't wipe out the past and start with a clean slate in January, but we can take a resolve to do more—even a little more—for the FOR this year. Opportunities are everywhere to speak a word in season, pass along a leaflet or pamphlet, give a book or subscription to FELLOWSHIP. Does your library get FELLOWSHIP? Does it have the pacifist classics on its shelves? Who will see to it that they are there if you do not?

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